7. **Politics** **and** **Society:**

a. Sociological theories of power.
b. Power elite, bureaucracy, pressure groups, and political parties.
c. Nation, state, citizenship, democracy, civil society, ideology.
d. Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution.

Sociological theories of power

Power: Possession of control, authority or influence over others, a relationship in which an individual is able to exert influence over the mind and actions of others.

Max Weber: Opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's will **even against resistance** and regardless of the basis on which opportunity rests.

Amos Hawley: **Every social act** is an exercise of power**, every social relationship** is a power equation and **every social group** or a system is an organization of power.

STEVEN LUKES : Weber definition is narrow.
3-D view of power
Three faces of power-
1) Decision making
2) Non decision making (by giving limited preferences to chose)
3) Shaping discussions (manipulating wishes and desires)

Basis of power: Wealth, status, knowledge, charisma, force, authority.

Features of power:
- Structural aspect of social reality,
- operates reciprocally but usually not equally reciprocally,
- manifests itself in a relationship manner,
- appears as a process not a fixed part of social structure,
- power in inherent in social stratification,
- it becomes basis of social stratification ex CW Mills.

Sources of power:
Legitimate (traditional, charisma, rational legal) illegitimate – force (violence, coercion)

THEORIES OF POWER
1) Elite theory of power: developed by Italian sociologists Vilferado Pareto and Gaetano Mosca, only minority has talent/intelligence/ability/ leadership to occupy positions of power, minority influence govt decisions and gains it dominant position beyond general elections (democracy is utopia), elites hold power due to religious values, hereditary or certain personal qualities

CLASSICAL ELITE THEORIES

POWER ELITE (V PARETO- circulation of elites)
- Elite most strongest, most energetic and most capable of good and evil;
- Occupy higher stratum (Eco- wealthy, political- rulers, religion- most holy, art-most artistic, ethics- most virtuous) and higher stratum comprises of
  - governing (ministers/secretaries) and
  - non-governing elites

- Society degenerates when elites occupy status due to ascription and not through achievement

- Psychologically human actions consist of residues (major motivations-6) and derivatives (elaboration of human action)

  - Elites are divided into Foxes and Lions (Taken from Machiavelli's anti thesis);
    - Lions are conservative elites who have residue of persistence (faith in ideology, group loyalty);
    - Foxes have vitality and imagination, prefer materialistic goals and strategy of emotional appeal to fraud; replace lions who lack manipulative skills

Criticisms:
- No method of measuring qualities,
- T Parsons(residues change with change in society),
- Difference between foxes and lions is nothing but style of rule,
- Pareto used only 2 residues out of 6.

CLASS THEORY OF POWER (G MOSCA)
- Book 'ruling class'; emphasized sociological and personal characteristics of elites; elite rule is universal necessity and inevitability
- Societies divided in two groups- ruling and ruled; ruling class is divided into elites (political power, property) and sub elites (technocrats, managers, civil servants)
- Dominant interest reflected in ruling class and they dominate structures and values
- He differs from pareto (elites are restrained by various social factors, ruled are not powerless in democracy)

Robert Michels (Iron law of oligarchy)
- Oligarchy inevitable within democracy as it is part of technical and tactical necessity
- Leadership class comes to dominate power structure; it controls access to info, centralize the power with little accountability
- Any democratic attempt fails because leadership class rewards loyalty
- Elites have three principles which help in bureaucratic structure (need and specialization, importance of psychological attributes, utilizations of facilities by old elites)

ELITE THEORIES:

a) CW MILLS: book 'the power elite';

Mills explained elite rule in Institutional rather than Psychological terms.

Two kinds of elites
- **Segmental**- arts/music and science,
- **Strategic**- those who govern);

Three institutions yield power
Major corporations,
Federal govt
Military

Elites have same lifestyle, family relationship and perpetuate rules through self recruitment.

Command Posts – Key pivotal positions in institutions. Elites occupy these.

However, elites have no moral/psychological superiority. Elite rule is not inevitable. Masses are not incompetent. They are kept in state of ignorance and powerlessness.

b) JAMES BURNHAM – book 'the managerial revolution'
All the power is in hands of managers (separation of operation and control), capitalism is on decline. Managers are new elites

c) TB Bottomore: book 'the elites and society'
Examined roles of elites in relation to class and class structure and criticized democratic and socialistic conception of elites; elites are different in industrial and developing world. Society is moving towards egalitarianism and multiple elites are present in developing world
(dynastic, middle class, revolutionary intellectuals, colonial administrators , nationalist leaders)

CRITIQUE-
- Power of public opinion is ignored.
  Karl Mannheim in his book 'ideology and Utopia' says that elites are different from totalitarians. In democracy, people remove leaders not working according to their wishes

- Power changes moment to moment and issue to issue.
  David Riesman rejected Mills theory and says that there is so much **diversity in US** in terms of thoughts and interests

- Altruistic motives do exist ex people do charity not to gain power

- Modern society is complex and has various power centres

- **Robert Dahl – "Who Governs"** – Found in New Haven, Connecticut that power is dispersed. **Arnold Rose** reconfirmed the findings.

PLURALIST THEORY OF Power

Based on functionalism (Parsons) and classical pluralism with emphasis on equilibrium, stability and gradual change) society is decentralized

Power is widely shared/diffused and fragmented and derived from multiple resources.

Diverse group with conflicting interests such that none play dominant role.

Natural balance of power is preserved through bargaining and compromise.

Alexis de Tocqueville – democracy becomes dysfunctional if dominated by one interest. State is 'honest broker'.

NEIL SMELSER : strain theory

T PARSONS (variable sum): criticized Weber for constant sum of power. Power can decrease and increase.

For ex modernity has raised lifestyle of all. It is structural feature of society and a generalized facility or resource.
It is capacity to mobilize resources for attainment of goals.
Value consensus, goals are shared and power is used to further collective goals.

Parsonian conception of authority –

Cooperation requires organization and direction which necessitate position of command.

Western democracies are 'deposit' of power and people can withdraw deposit in next elections.

Max Weber (zero-sum) –
Aspect of social relationship and present in social situation; fixed amount- somebody gain is somebody loss;
Differs from situation to situation;
Three ideal types – Charismatic, Traditional and Rational-Legal.

Critique:
- Concentration on first face (Steven Lukes),
- Not all interest groups have equal power (ex refugees),
- Safe decision are taken in disguise.

CONFLICT theories

MARXIAN :
Haves (owners of production) have power like elites. Coercive power but accepted due to false consciousness.
In communist manifesto, oppression of one class by other is political power;
Power is pervasive which dominant class exercises in every field through dominant ideologies.

Michel Foucault - Power and Knowledge

Power not concentrated in one place or in the hands of particular individuals.
Power is found in all social relationships and is not just exercise by the state
Power is intimately linked with knowledge.
Power and knowledge produce one another

Power of the state therefore involves the development of new types of knowledge, to collect more information and exercise more control over its population.

This involves development of **discourses.**

Foucault does not just think of power in coercive terms, paradoxically Foucault only sees power as operating when people have some freedom.

Book "Madness and Civilization"

Foucault says discourse is practice that systematically forms the objects of which they speak. Example psychiatry created the mentally ill.
Power is part of the discourse of psychiatry and not something that is held by individual psychiatrist.

Book "Discipline and Punish"

Foucault traced the changes in nature and purpose of punishments in 18th century.
By 19th century punishment changed from that of body to that of soul, intention changed to reform.
People were judged for what they were instead of what they had done.
Motivation behind the crime began to be taken into account.
This Foucault argues brought experts into power relations making discourses carry the power.

He says power is exercised rather than possessed.
When attempts are made to exercise power there is always an element of uncertainty.
Foucault believes that power can sometimes be reversed.
Example accuracy of a psychiatrist diagnosis can be questioned.

Foucault imagines state to be **Panopticon.**
Pointing towards techniques of surveillance which encourage self discipline.
With an idea that humans have a soul that can be manipulated, with state trying to produce "Docile Bodies".

Michael Mann - The sources of social power

Non existence of society –
Human behaviour is not and has never been exclusively related to or caused by a particular territory in which an individual lives.
In modern world mass media impacts in many ways.

Example - Britain can be analysed as either a country, a part of military alliance NATO or part of economic grouping EU.

Mann said throughout history there has never been an isolated society.
His idea of power is the ability to pursue and attain goals through mastery of the environment.

Power can take two forms -
1) **Distributional power** - that is power over others. It is the ability of **individuals to get others to help** them to their own goals.
2) **Connected power** which is exercised **by social groups over one another**, by one nation over another.

Two main ways in which the power can be exercised
1) **Extensive power** - the ability to **organise large numbers** of people **over far-flunged** territories in order to engage in minimally stable cooporation.
Example – Major Religions.

2) **Intensive Power** - ability to **organise tightly** and command high level of mobilisation or commitment from the participants.
Example - Religious sect.

Difference between authoritative and diffused power –
Authoritative power is exercised when **deliberate commands** are issued. There is a conscious decision to follow them.
Example of football player following the referee's instruction.

Diffused power spreads in a **more spontaneous** way. It involves power relationships but ones which operate without commands being issued.
Example – a company going out of business not because someone commands it to but because it is unable to compete.

Sources of power
- Economic
- Ideological
- Political
- Military

That is, Mann's idea is wider than that of Karl Marx's.

Marxism stresses economic power
Pluralism stresses ideological power in democracy
Elite and State Centered theories emphasize political power
However **Mann's** approach embraces all of these including military power and is, thus, the **broadest** theoretical approach to power.

Pierre Bourdieu - The concept of symbolic power

To account for the tacit almost unconscious modes of cultural/social domination occurring within the everyday social habits maintained over conscious subjects.

Symbolic power accounts for discipline used against another to confirm that individual's placement in a social hierarchy, at times in individual relations but most basically through system institutions, in particular education.

Also referred to as **"soft power",** symbolic power includes actions that have discriminatory or injurious meaning or implications, such as **gender dominance and racism**. Symbolic power maintains its effect through the mis-recognition of power relations situated in the social matrix of a given field.

While symbolic power requires a dominator, it also requires the dominated to accept their position in the exchange of social value that occurs between them.

The concept of symbolic power was first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in La Distinction. Bourdieu suggested that cultural roles are more dominant than economic forces in determining how hierarchies of power are situated and reproduced across societies.

Status and economic capital are both necessary to maintain dominance in a system, rather than just ownership over the means of production alone. The idea that one could possess symbolic capital in addition and set apart from financial capital played a critical role in Bourdieu's analysis of hierarchies of power.

Political parties

They are driven by clear **ideologies** which **influence other members** to become part of these **organizations** which then elect a **common leader**.
This leader is defined by the ideology and rule of law.

Weber – Party is an **organized group action** intended **to capture power**.
Party is an **ideal type**, present in every society.

FW Riggs - Any organisation that **nominates candidates** to election.

TB Bottomore - Groups with **divergent interest** form political parties.
They are a link between state and sectional interest. The ultimate aim is to capture power.

Seymour Lipset - **parties compete** with each other to gain office.

In a democracy–

1) Parties represent **popular opinion**
2) They are obligated to **fulfill interest of supporters** or else be voted out (**Parsons and Aron**)
3) They require **support from various groups** so can't only represent sectional interest.

Forms of Political Party –

Maurice Duverger -

1) **Mass Based** (China, Cuba. Mostly Socialist or Communist Countries)
2) **Cadre Based** (in Democracies) (These are Rank Based, hierarchical, Division of Responsibilities)

Robert Dahl –

1) **Exterior** Party – Emerging out of external influence. Like CPI in India due to CP China, Russia.
2) **Interior** Party – Like Communist Party of USSR.

General Criteria –

1) **Right**- Gradualism in welfarism
2) **Left** - Radical welfarism
3) **Centre**- Balanced

There are various political system –
1) **Uni**-party
2) **Bi**-party
3) **Multi** party

Advantages of Uniparty System-
Maurice Duverger-
Political Stability.   Strict adherence to public policy.   Glorification of Nationalism.

Disadvantages –
David Lane-
Voice of people not given due acknowledgement.   Authoritarian govt.

Advantages of Bi-party System-
Harold Laski-
Autocracy checked.   People given 2 distinct ideologies.   Strong   opposition.
          Responsible Govt.

Disadvantages –
Robert Smith -
Divides the nation.   In the globalised world, parties follow similar policies.

Advantages of multi-party System-
True democracy highlighted.   Suitable for multi-cultural society.
Sudipto Kaviraj, Zoya Hassan – Multi party system true reflection of India's multi-culturalism and maturity of Indian democracy.

Disadvantages –
Political Confusion.   Instability.   Opportunistic politics.   Death   of   ideological politics.   FPTP employed, with its own demerits (a small fraction can win the results).

Elite pluralist parties are governed by leaders who are Elite and elite make critical decisions.

Pressure groups

Interest Group - Unlike political parties interest groups **do not aim to form government**, rather they seek to **influence political parties** and the various departments of the state.

They do not have wide range of interests rather they want to project **a specific interest** (e.g. CII - confederation of Indian Industries)

When an interest group seeks governmental aid in achieving its own ends and **succeeds in influencing governmental** policy to its advantage, then it **becomes a pressure group**.

Robert McKenzie –
Two types of pressure groups –

Protective groups- Defends the interests of a particular section of society, e.g. trade unions, CII (zero-sum game)
Promotional groups- Support a particular cause rather than guard the interests of a particular group- e.g. Greenpeace, PETA etc. **membership is larger and open** than the protective groups

Gabriel Almond –
Categorized these groups in terms of structural forms as under:

1. **Institutional** interest groups (within the institutions like army and business associations) –

Generally consist of legislatures, executives, bureaucracies etc.
A formally organised group. Consists of professional persons. Particularly the bureaucracy.

2. **Non-associational** interest groups- (with similar ascriptive positions)

Associations or groups out of human's sociable character. Formed on the basis of different grounds. Same **religion, ethnic group, or kinship**. The members **complain about their non-delegation** to the legislature, or the non-fulfilment of their legitimate demands. Very **common in developing societies** (because stronger ascriptive identities).

3. **Associational** interest groups. (with similar class positions)

Associational groups- Formed by the trade unions, businessmen, industrialists or professional groups and persons. The articulation of interest by such groups is quite prominent in all political systems. If necessary they launch agitation.

4. **Anomic** interest groups (forming spontaneously) (terrorist organization, criminal gang).

Riots or militant demonstrations. These groups have no permanent structure or organisations. They **spontaneously form agitation** or lead demonstrations.

Another criteria-
1) **Insider** - With **access** to power
2) **Outside** the power circles

Durkheim –
In "**Professional Ethics and Civic Morals**" Durkheim calls them **tool for associative democracy**.
They hold people together and effective **checks on individual** in Industrial society.

Bernard Barber –
They are called **third sector of democracy**.

Roles played by pressure group

For parties :
- Funds and resources
- Policy feedback
- Constructive criticism
- Mobilize support and votes

- Link between people party and state
- Conduit for opinion transition

For society :
- Control individualism
- Platform
- Grievance venting organ
- Represent sectional interest
- Criticise policies
- Check Elite rule or authoritarianism
- Transmit public opinion
- Sensitize people
- Represent disadvantaged

Criticism :
- Lobbying between pressure group and state
- Often vulnerable groups left out only dominant voice is heard
- Many pressure groups try to capture political power
- Often disintegrate and lose vigor
- Can't handle repressive state

But **Dawes and Hughes** believe that pressure group are continuous mandate for government or parties and democracy can't be conceived without them

Voting behaviour

Miliband - Caters to demands of class, age, gender, race.
Cross class voting is present.

Democracy

Democracy entails direct participation of all in political process

Gandhi – It is not a legal phenomenon but a spiritual one involving **respect for each other** and **decentralisation** of power.

Abraham Lincoln - Rule by people and government by, of, for the people

Pluralist - democracy requires power at hands of a few to lead and represent

Functionalist (Parsons) - people bestow power to leaders which could be withdrawn during elections (as in a saving account in a bank).

Political participation of people at the core of democracy

Types
1) **Participative**-
Direct participation via referendum, recall, plebiscite, initiative

2) **Representative**
- **Agent** based (one who consults the electorate).
- **Delegate** based (one who acts on his own discretion while taking decisions)

Bestowing responsibility or Power at hands of a few to represent collective interest.

3) **Associative**
In "Professional ethics and Civic morals" by **Durkheim**
Participation via voluntary organisation (socialist society)
Sensitize, check on bureaucracy, Civic culture etc

Critique

1) **Bottomore** - pluralist societies - Undemocratic : democracy needs social + industrial democracy and equality of all.

2) **Marx** - communist societies are true democracies

3) **R Aran** - communist societies represent all interest. Pluralist represent Elite rule.

4) **Lipset and Coleman** find control of Institutions by economic elites but Real democracy requires **institutional democracy**.

5) **Robert Michels** (political parties) -
Iron hand of Oligarchy.
In representative **democracy** organisation develop **a bureaucratic structure** that itself has various **flaws**.
It **facilitates few to control** institutional landscape and suppress genuine people's participation.
Elite rule by guile and cunningness.
Bureaucracy within organisation makes society won't have democracy.

6) **Dynasty** Rule

7) **Elite Self Recruitment**

8) **Catch-All** - Parties with divergent ideologies tend to become centrist after being voted-in

9) **Illetracy and ignorance** of populace

10) **Episodic Accountability** - Democracy **limited to voting** only.

11) **Limited accountability** mechanism.

12) Alexis de Tocqueville - **Tyranny of majority**.

13) **Steven Lukes** – 3rd Face of Power – State using its power to form opinions of people in its favour.

14) **JS Mill** - "If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind" -

State

Weber - State is a "human community that successfully claims **monopoly** over the **legitimate use of physical force** within a given territory".

Other groups might resort to violence, but they are termed as terrorists, or hooligans.

Thomas Hobbes – State exercises **Sovereignty**.

Machiavelli –

State comprises **institutions** governing members within a **territorial boundary**.

Members confined in a boundary are deemed **citizens** and enjoy several political, cultural, religious, social and economic **rights**.

2 problems for contemporary States –

1) **Territorial** - posed by **globalisation**
2) **Institutional** - posed by blurring of boundary between **state and non-state** private organizations, civil society, NGO, voluntary organisations

Theories

1) **Pluralist** –
State controlled by many parties and organisation and represent interest of all.
Lipset - **institutionalization** of class-conflict through parties.
Aran - power with people in **socialist regimes** (pluralism).

2) **Elite** –
CW Mills - State represents **Elite** interest
Michels - democracy is rule by oligarchic organisations through Bureaucracy.
Elite interest not put to serious challenge

3) **Functionalist** –
Parsons : State needed for two objectives –

- **Determining goals** based on value consensus

- **Mobilizing** resources for fulfillment

4) **Marxian** –
(state in capitalism)
State **committed to** common interest of **capitalist** and staffed by ruling class.

Relation between ruling class and governing class –

Stanley Aronowitz - capitalist staff are organs of state

Ralph Miliband - State functions to serve capitalist interests. Because of the similar social origins of members of state, government and the personal ties between members of state government and the ruling-class elites.

Poulantzas - The **relative autonomy** of the state from the capitalist class. The **structure of society is capitalist**, thus, **state** is by **default capitalistic** in nature. No need for capitalists to be there in the governing class.

Westergaard and Risler - **welfare state a myth**. Still inequality prevails. **Social security** systems **concessions** to suppress proletarian Revolt.

Postmodernist – **Habermas**
Space between **public private is shrinking**
Institutional apparatus serves state interest at cost of individual Liberty

Ralph Milliband (Marxist) says that state becomes agent of wealthy but direct intervention is not needed. (3rd face – indoctrination)

Antonio Gramsci (Neo marxist):
No economic determinism but reciprocity in infrastructure and superstructure.

Hegemony is achieved not by force but by **idea** (concessions /dual consciousness – ideas are not always derived from capitalists).

Cultural ideological hegemony: In culturally diverse society ruling class manipulate culture (beliefs/ explanations/ perceptions/values) so that it becomes accepted;

Dominant ideology becomes acceptable/perpetual and beneficial for all (status quo) rather than a fake social construct;

Operates through state apparatus.

BOB JESSOP
(The future of capitalist state) Neo-marxist

Post Fordist specialized production.
Capitalist don't run the state always, as state does not serve their interests.
-   Operational autonomy of the state: capitalism cannot exist without non capitalist institutions; capitalism merely exercises dominance.
-   In regulationist approach, state can harm capitalism.
-   Shift from Keynesian welfare model to **Schumpeterian Workfare Economy** (unemployed should seek work) Post national (International competition in knowledge economy) model.
-   Various state capacities like military, financial institutions etc don't necessarily act to achieve same goals

LOUIS ALTHUSSER
Repressive state apparatus : ruling class controls govt/courts/police/military and even state.
People submit due to fear of legal prosecution and police action.

Ideological state apparatus: religion/school/families controlled through ideology (system of ideas and values).
People submit due to fear of social ridicule.

NICOS POULANTZAS (Neo-Marxist)
Emphasized importance of social structure and minimizes of individual action (capitalist)

Class origin does not matter, class position is.

Relative autonomy of state
(diffuse protests, has to promote myth of inclusiveness, burgeoise are not free from internal divisions)

Critique :
State is stronger than ever,
Eco growth has become imp functional duty of state,
Other sources of power than wealth.

ERIC A NORDLINGER:

Although some Marxists and neo Marxists predicted relative autonomy of state but state is never to go against ruling class. Nordlinger says that **state has autonomy**.

TYPE 1: State has different wishes from major groups (state has resources. Decision making power)
TYPE 2: Persuades opponents to change their mind (active role in manipulating public opinion).
TYPE 3: Apathy of the public (not every group is sure of its demands so leaves it to state).

THEDA SKOCPOL (Bringing the State back in)

State can have its own goals like reinforce the authority, political longevity etc

She talks about **state capacity** which depends on reliable income (taxes from rich), no foreign debt, increase in state power by having human resource etc.
When state capacity decreases only then revolution occurs (ex Russian, French, Chinese revolution).

Globalisation and power of the nation-state

John Baylis and Steve Smith- **The globalisation of world politics**

Globalisation is a process of increasing interconnection and it has led to a new era in
- Politics(economic transformation) (state has less control over national economy),
- Electronic Communication (no boundaries),
- Global culture,
- homogeneity,
- Cosmopolitan culture,
- Global polity (UN –NGOs) and
- Risk culture(AIDS, environment)

But
- globalisation is not New and it is not reducing power of nation state
- globalisation has impacted Western societies more where infrastructure is present
- globalisation has exploited the poor explicitly
- Global problems have emerged like terrorism, drug, weapon trade, money laundering
- Global Institutions may not be subject to democratic control

LESLIE SKLAIR (Sociology of the global system)

Power of transnational companies
Transnational practices include -
1) Economic transnational corporations
2) Political capitalist inspired politician
3) Cultural ideological consumerism

Globalisation has mostly negative impact that is class polarization and ecological unsustainability

DAVID HELD AND ANTHONY MCGREW: (Democracy and Cosmopolitan order)

Two types of globalisation
a) **Globalists** (economy, global politics, risk)
b) **Sceptics** (nothing new about migration and int'l trade; people have maintained strong national identities)

Transformationalist Stance:
There is nothing new about globalization and in future, it might change direction or can be reversed.
Globalization is bringing diverse people together which can become source of conflict.

CITIZENSHIP:

A citizen is not one who lives in a nation state, he is not just an inhabitant (aliens also are), he is the one who participates in the process of govt-two way – rights (demands on state) and duties (demand by state). **Harold J Laski** says that state is known by rights it maintains. State is not merely a sovereign organization which is entitled to citizen's allegiance. In monarchies, only subjects are there.

Citizenship has been defined as legal status of membership in political community. Citizenship is rights to have rights.

TH MARSHALL defines citizenship as a status, which is enjoyed by a person who is a full member of a community. Citizenship has **three components**: **civil** (individual freedom institutionalized in law) **political** (right to participate in exercise of political power and holding of public office) and **social** (right to participate in appropriate standard of living). He says that there is permanent tension between citizenship and capitalist market (capitalism involves inequality while citizenship involves distribution of sources because of rights).

Marshall theory critique: only English experience with no comparative analysis. Expansionary analysis of citizenship without examining social processes which undermine citizenship (gender differences, discrimination). It is not clear about cause of expansion of citizenship.

Talcott Parsons says that citizenship is **measure of modernization** of society because it is based on values of universalism and achievement.

Citizenship is treated as an aspect of bourgeois liberalism and sometimes as an aspect of radical democratic politics. Globalization is transcending regionalism and parochial nationalism to make us global citizens. Dual citizenship is a new phenomenon where connections are more based on convenience rather than love of mother land.

STATE AND CITIZENSHIP:

State is imp political organization but it mainly pursues its objective through law and coercive force. State role is expanding due to welfarism even if as a regulator. State and citizens often are at opposite end due to difference of opinion on morality, private sentiments, high social values, aspirations etc. ex Kashmir.

Nationalism

It represents an ideology that those with the common identity and characteristics represent distinct political community.
This political community is unified by territorial boundary.

Ernest Gellner's idea of Nationalism –

- Shared, formal **educational** system
- Cultural **homogenisation** and "social entropy" (natural decay of a social system)
- **Central monitoring** of polity, with extensive **bureaucratic control**
- **Linguistic** standardisation
- National identification as **abstract community** (even relating with those who we haven't ever seen)
- **Cultural similarity as a basis for political legitimacy** (politics relating with cultural aspects to garner legitimacy)

Eric Hobsbawm – Nationalist ideology represents **a bourgeouise construct** where capitalism replaced traditional aristocracy and nationalism was the **result of economic capital**.

Albert Cohen - Nationalism was the result of a **reaction to colonialism in third world** Nations.

Modern view - nationalism develops in peripheral regions **against imbalanced development**.

Intellectual nationalism invests with **Industrial Revolution and French** revolution.

Ideological Nationalism in East on basis of **religion, culture, ethnicity**, Nationalist ideology.

Globalised nationalism in Middle East (**Arab Spring**).

Nationalism And Globalisation -

- With rise of globalization, internationalisation and Cosmopolitanisation.

Economic globalisation to pose **threat to territorial homogeneity** and control the economy of nation state.

Privatization, rise of new **non state** Agencies, civil society organisations, ngos etc would make differentials in society.

People lose a sense of culture (**identity crisis**).

Andrew Pilkington –
Otherisation - As the globalisation grew, the idea that we are different from the others also grew. Eventually leading to the proposal of the idea of nation and nationalism. It flew from Elites to lower stratas.
Hybrid Identities – One is English + British + European at the same time.
Hyphenated identities (minorities) need to be mainstreamed and protected to form 'inclusive nationalism'.

Ernest Gellner - nationalism intensifies with global forces.

Recent World War 1 and 2 have reinforced National ideologies

Stuart hall - nationalism provides sense of security to ethnies amidst turbulence of global forces.

Ian Robertson - migrating communities revive National culture in other Nations.

Revolution

A forcible overthrow of a government or social order, in favour of a new system.

A revolution is a fundamental change in political power or organizational structures that takes place in a relatively short period of time.

Generally, the population rises up in revolt against the current authorities.

Aristotle described two types of political revolution:

1. Complete change from one constitution to another
2. Modification of an existing constitution.

The most dramatic and far-reaching example of non -orthodox political action is revolution - the overthrow of an existing political order by means of a mass movement, using violence.
Revolutions are tense, exciting and fascinating events; understandably, they attract great attention.
Yet for all of their high drama, revolutions occur relatively infrequently

Any sudden change in government of a society brought about violently often called coup-de-etat or Palace revolution.
More broadly it's a complete change of social structure where political change reflects one of its manifestations

Revolution may be due to political, economic and social other factors or a combination of all on any of these.

J curve theory of revolution - believe that it's a result of relative deprivation when period of economic prosperity are reversed.

Marxian view –
Describe nature of revolution where changes brought about in economic organisation results in change in political structure

For Marx history of society was history of struggle between the classes (replacement of one mode of production by another is involved in a revolution)

Analyses India where periodic changes led to changes in mode of production.

Marxists view revolution in terms of either –

- As struggle between two classes
- Conflict in mode of production

Many believed that Revolution would occur where the social contradictions are more prominent.
Example collapse of socialism in Soviet replaced by multi party

Fukuyama (End of History) - Democracy and economic capitalism called true revolution.

Althuser believed that Revolution would **occur in weak link** in chain of capitalism where social condratictions are more prominent

Theda Skocpol – Revolutions occur when state capacity wekanens. (Russian, French, Chinese)

Civil society-

Civil society is *community of citizens* linked by common interests and collective identity. It manifests <u>will and interests</u> of the citizens. It is *third sector* of society after govt and business. It limits power of state and usher in true and vibrant democracy by enhancing participation.

JS MILL and Alexis de Tocqueville: CS is domain of social association which will check excesses of the state. (based on liberal democratic theory: right bearing individuals are free to pursue their private associations with others)

Hegel: subordinated CS to state as he thought it as **a mediating domain** where particular interests of individual and universal interest of state can be reconciled for producing ethical basis for modern society.

Antonio Gramsci: CS furthers dominant ideologies.

Partha Chatterjee and SudiptaKaviraj:
Dealinate western CS from Indian;
Application of concepts of western CS on india is wrong as state in india is not extensive as on west

Anthony Giddens—
Groups which fall outside the market and government both can be termed as civil society.
Government and the market alone are not enough to solve the many challenges in late modern societies.
Civil society - must be strengthened and joined up with government and business.

Voluntary groups, families and civic associations can play vital roles in *addressing community issues* from crime to education.

Some elements of civil society (often characterised as 'social movements') seek radical transformations of the prevailing order.

However, civil society also includes reformist elements that seek only modest revisions of existing governance arrangements and conformist elements that seek to reinforce established rules.

Jan Aart Scholte –
Highlighted how civil society can play a very important role in enhancing democracy –

- Public education activities
- Giving voice to stake holders. For e.g. giving voice to Singur farmers in WB, and unorganised labour
- Fuel debate about governance. For e.g. highlighting environmental issues.
- Increasing transparency-- public scrutiny.

- Increases public accountability- Civic groups can monitor the implementation and effects of policies
- Fosters legitimacy- providing for interaction between people and the government, giving the government legitimacy

Caution -
- Civil society can pursue anti-democratic goals
- Employ antidemocratic means
- produce anti-democratic consequences

But these risks are by no means grounds to exclude civil society, but they give reason to treat it with care.

Six paramaters to judge quality of NGO-
1) People's participation
2) Cost effectiveness
3) Institutional/ environmental/ financial sustainability
4) Accountability
5) Technical excellence
6) Equity concern for deprived and for women

CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCARACY

General issues
- Funding and elite run,
- Mafia and militia group are part of cs (ideology and propaganda),
- Black money in the name of aid,
- Internal democracy lacking and corruption,
- Govt agencies are ill equipped to handle cs inputs,
- Insensitivity to local cultures (foreign ngo)

Positives:
- People power,
- Empowering citizen,
- New leaders,
- End of tyranny,
- Generate public support

Protest, agitation, social movements, collective action, revolution

Collective action—

Group of people engaged in some sort of **interaction**, **within the group** as well as **with other groups**, which creates a **collective identity**.

In sociology collective action is treated differently from individual action and can be **classified in** terms of (**DISCOO**) –

- Duration
- Ideology
- Structure (under what structure is the collective action happening, Authoritative or Democratic)
- Consequences
- Objective
- Organisation

Individual Action → Social Action → Collective Action

Protest-
The **process** of opposition against any other **person**, **group**, issue or even **society.**

Agitation-
The **activity** of showing opposition **to fulfill the purpose of protest**.

Both agitation and protest are **interrelated** and **mutually exclusive**.

Visible at manifest and latent levels.

Manifest – Verbal Comments, Expression of angers, disruptive activities, sometimes rioting.

Latent – Inaction, inefficient behaviour, distress, tension, disillusionment, alienation.

Common interest + Collective Action = Protests/Agitation

Types-
Both could be
- **Organised** (Socio-Religious Movements of 19th Century)
- **Unorganised** (Rioting, blockade)
- **Acceptability** (Acceptability in the society. Anna Hazare movement)
- **Non-Acceptability** (Non-Acceptability in the society. LGBT protests, Slut Walk)

Protests – Mostly non-violent
Agitation – Mostly violent.

Ghanshyam Shah – Gave testing criteria of Protest or Agitation-
"Compulsive Demand" in Agitation. Eg. – Salt Satyagraha, Anna Hazare's Fast unto Death.

Causes
General Causes -
- Dissatisfaction (with the prevalent conditions)
- Dissent (Manifest. Difference of opinion)
- Disagreement (Latent)
- **Relative Deprivation**
- Strain

- Vested Interest

Special Causes –
- Precipitating Factor
- Specific Demands.

When same thing is –
- **Spontaneity in Start**
- **Sustained**
- **Non-Institutional** (by not being a part of the state)
- **Organised** (to achieve certain objective)

it becomes **Movement**.

Example – Driver beaten after an accident is not a movement because it is not sustained, but Sanskritisation by Rajvanshis is.

How Social Movements get Institutionalised in Society–
- Leadership
- Objective
- Ideology

Gives longevity to movement.

Eg. – Bhoodan Movement, Naxal Movement.

Social Movements are
- **collective** action
- by a **large number** of people
- which is **directed towards** – **Changing** (Promoting or Resisting) some of the **values**, **norms** and social **relations** in a society.

Difference between Protest, Agitation and Social Movement –
- **Social** movements are **essentially collective** action (**Agitation** and **Protests** can be **individualised**).
- SM are **broader** in terms of influence and reach.
- SM are **sustained** in nature.
- SM are **non**-**institutional** in character.
- SM are **preceded by Protests** and **Agitation.**

Therefore, all SM are collective actions but not vice versa.

Social movements-

Anthony Giddens-
"**collective** attempts to further a common interest or **secure a common goal** through action **outside** the sphere of established **institutions**"

Social movements often arise with the aim of **bringing about change on** a –

-   **public issue**, such as expanding **civil rights** for a segment of the population.
-   **In response** to social movements, **counter-movements** sometimes arise in defence of the status quo.

Example - **Abortion** movements **vs Prolife** movements

The **American civil rights** movement succeeded in pushing through important pieces of legislation outlawing racial segregation in schools and public places.
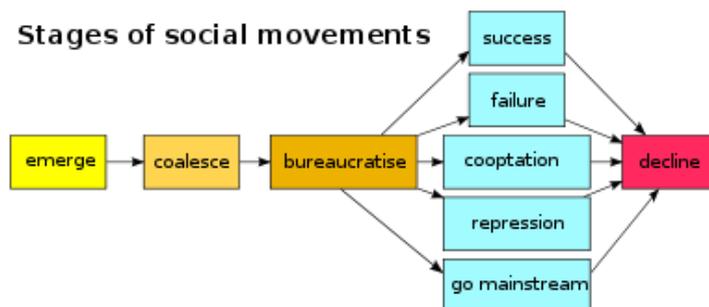
David Aberle –

	Degree of change	
	Partial	Total
Target of change — Individual	*ALTERATIVE*	*REDEMPTIVE*
Target of change — Society	*REFORMATIVE*	*TRANSFORMATIVE*

Figure 1. Aberle's (1966) typology of social movements.

Charles Tilly –
Social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which **ordinary people make collective claims** on others.
For Tilly, **social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics.**

Stages of social movements

emerge → coalesce → bureaucratise → success / failure / cooptation / repression / go mainstream → decline

Adapted from Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978)

On basis of Ideology –
-   Marxian
-   Gandhian
-   Feminist
-   Anti-state

- Anti-Society

Theories of social movement

Herbert Blumer - Theory of social unrest
Blumer saw social movements as motivated by **dissatisfaction with some aspects** of current society, which they sought to rectify (**outside** the sphere of formal **party politics)**.
In doing so, they were trying to **build a 'new order of life'**.

Types
'Active' or outwardly directed, aiming to transform society—
e.g. An example of the former would be the labour movement, which aimed to radically change capitalist societies in egalitarian ways

'Expressive' or inwardly directed, trying to change the people who become involved.
e.g. 'New Age' movements, which encourage people to transform their inner selves.

In practice most social movements involve both active and expressive elements.
As movement activists and supporters undergo changes in their self-identity as a result of campaigns to change society.

Many environmental campaigns. for example, are explicitly aimed at preventing environmental damage, but in the process they often generate an increasing self-identification with the natural world, thereby transforming people's perception of self.

Life cycle- (SPFI)
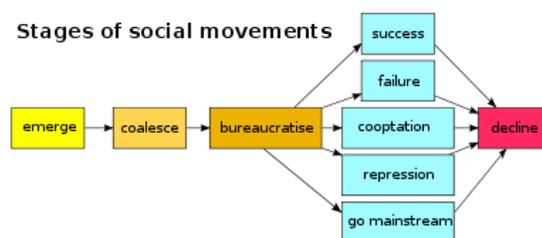Involves four consecutive stages-
Social ferment --> when people are agitated about some issue but this is **relatively unfocused** and **disorganized**.
Popular excitement--> This develops into a stage of 'popular excitement' during which the sources of people's **dissatisfaction are more clearly defined** and understood.
Formal organisation-- In the third stage, formal organizations are normally created which are able to bring about a higher level of coordination to the emerging movement and a more effective campaigning structure is put in place.
Institutionalisation--> Finally comes 'institutionalization', in which the movement, which was originally outside mainstream politics, comes to be accepted as part of the wider society and political life.
Of course, some movements partly succeed, while others completely fail. Some endure over quite long periods of time, while others simply run out of finances or enthusiasm, thus ending their life-cycle

Stages of social movements

emerge → coalesce → bureaucratise → cooptation / success / failure / repression / go mainstream → decline

Adapted from Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978)

(also **Tilly** -   )

Critics
Studies tended **not to explore the rational decisions** and **strategies** of movement activists.
This aspect was left for later scholars to pursue.

Critics argued that these were **largely descriptive accounts** that did not really pay enough attention to explanations that were able to connect social movement activity to changes in the social structure.

Neil Smelser- Strain theory (CS GF AC)
Smelser argued that six **'value-added' elements** are necessary for a social movement to develop:

Structural conduciveness- Structural context has to be conducive to movement formation. For example, in authoritarian societies there may be very little scope for people to gather together in large groups or to demonstrate legally against things they oppose.

Structural strain -- There needs to be a strain **between people's expectations and social reality**.

Generalized beliefs- If the first two conditions are met, then it is necessary for generalized beliefs about the causes of strain to develop and spread in order to convince people of the need to join or form a social movement. He sees such generalized beliefs as often quite primitive and based on wish fulfilment, rather than rationally thought through

Precipitating factors- These are essentially events that act as sparks to ignite the flame of protest action. A good example of this would be the removal of Rosa Parks from a racially segregated bus in the USA in 1955, which triggered protests and became a key event in the black civil rights movement. Without them, the process of movement formation may be stalled for a long period. Tunisia – Vegetable Vendor self-immolated, started Arab Spring.

Mobilization for action Having witnessed a precipitating event, the next value-added element is effective communication via the formation of an active social network which allows activists to perform some of the functions necessary for successful protest and organization-building; writing and distributing pamphlets. organizing demonstrations, taking membership fees and so on. All of this activity requires a higher level of networking and social networking. (made possible in today's times by internet)

Failure of social control -- The final causal factor in Smelser's model is the response of the forces of social control. The response of authorities can be crucial in closing down an emergent social movement or creating opportunities for it to develop. **Sometimes an over-reaction by authorities can encourage others to support** the movement, especially in our media-dominated age. **Theda Skocpol** calls it- **Decrease in State Capacity.**

Critical points

- In focusing attention on generalized beliefs, Smelser's model implied that **individuals are motivated to start social movements for irrational reasons**, rooted in misleading ideas about their situation.

- This fell back into an older tradition that saw **movements as unusual or marginal phenomena**.

- Smelser's theory was also **structural functionalist in orientation**, setting social movements in the context of their adaptive function during periods of rapid social change.

Contemporary significance
Smelser's work on social movements has deservedly received more attention in recent years and is undergoing something of resurgence.

It still offers **a multi-causal model** of movement formation and even critics have extracted elements from it - such as ideas within resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structures and frame analysis - which have proved very productive

Similarly, his model connects movement activism to social structures and may provide insights into the rise of new social movements.

Resource mobilisation theory

RMT developed in the late 1960s and 1970s, partly **as a reaction to social unrest theories, which** appeared to **portray social movements as 'irrational'** phenomena.

Oberschall, Tilly, Zald and McCarthy –

Capitalist societies produce chronic discontent so there should be perpetual movements.
Social unrest is always present and movements therefore cannot be explained by reference to it.

Cause

Chronic discontent turn into social movements when necessary *resources* are available to effectively challenge the established order.

RMT
- Political dissatisfaction is not enough to bring about social change.
- Resources are needed to become an active force in society.
- RMT have an economistic feel.
- There are similarities between social movements and the competitive market economy.
- There is a competitive field of movements - a '**social movement industry**' (SMI) - within which movements compete for scarce resources, members and activists.
- Social movement organizations (SMOs) therefore find themselves **in competition** with other SMOs, some of which may appear to share their aims.

Critics
- RMT underplays the effects of post-industrialism or globalization processes in bringing change on Social Movements. These may change the context of movement struggles.

- One-off incidents, like reporting of an asylum seeking kid dying while crossing the seas, stirred the European community to change their asylum policy.

- A lack of resources can be turned to a movement's advantage
  Example - 'Poor people's movements' in the USA.
  This was because activists in the early stages were very enthusiastic and took part in many direct actions such as strikes and sit-ins.

- But once they became more effectively organized, direct actions became fewer and the 'dead hand of bureaucracy', as described by Max Weber and Robert Michels, took over as the movements lost momentum and impact.

Social movements in the modern world

Anthony Giddens states that some recent changes have been taking place in modernity. He believes modernity is developing into a phase which may be called high modernity or radicalised modernity.
He identifies 4 dimensions of modernity

1. **Capitalism**-Private ownership
2. **Industrialism**-Mass production using machines
3. **Surveillance**-Supervision of activities of subjects
4. **Military Power**- Control of means of violence

According to Giddens SMs develop corresponding to these 4 dimensions

1. **Labour movements-**
2. **Ecological movements-**
3. **Free speech/democratic movements-**
4. **Peace**

Giddens believes ecological and peace movements are relatively new phenomenon which have come up with globalisation and more awareness.

Nation

(Nation – Psychological. State – Political. Country – Geographical)

A nation is a large group or collective of people with common characteristics attributed to them - including language, traditions, mores (customs), habitus (habits), and ethnicity.

By comparison, a nation is more impersonal, abstract, and overtly political than an ethnic group. It is a cultural-political community that has become conscious of its autonomy, unity, and particular interests.

Joseph Stalin –

"a nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people;"
"a nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people";
"a nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of people living together generation after generation";

"a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

Benedict Anderson - "**imagined community**" (**Paul James** -"**abstract community**")

It is an imagined community in the sense that the material conditions exist for imagining extended and shared connections.
It is an abstract community in the sense that it is objectively impersonal, even if each individual in the nation experiences him or herself as subjectively part of an embodied unity with others.

For the most part, **members of a nation remain strangers to each other and will never likely meet**.
Vance Packard - Hence the phrase, "**a nation of strangers**".

Two types of nations,
- the **civic nation** of which France was the principal example
- the **ethnic nation** exemplified by the German peoples.

Civic nation was traced to the French Revolution and **ideas** deriving from 18th-century **French philosophers** (Driven by the ideas like Liberty, Equality, Fraternity).

Ernest Renan - A **willingness to "live together"**, producing a nation that results from an act of affirmation.

Present day analysis –
- Building of national identity sentiments

Ernest Gellner –
o Shared, formal **educational** system
o **Cultural** homogenisation
o **Central** monitoring of **polity**, with **extensive bureaucratic** control
o **Linguistic** standardisation
o **National identification as abstract** community
o **Cultural similarity** as a basis **for political legitimacy**
o **Anonymity**, single-stranded social relationships

- Identifying the **individual and collective mechanisms** within a nation (Duties vs Rights of a citizen)
- Role of **United Nations** as an international collectivity
- the role a State plays in a nation (**Granville Austin** – in India, the State is making the nation)
- **Nations becoming economies**
- Issues of **Sub-nationalism**

Bureaucracy-

Bureaucracy is the administrative system governing any large institution.

Karl Marx

Marx was opposed to the bureaucracy.

He saw the development of bureaucracy in government as a natural counterpart to the development of the corporation in private society.

Marx posited that while the corporation and government bureaucracy existed in seeming opposition, in actuality they mutually relied on one another to exist.

John Stuart Mill

He theorized that successful monarchies were essentially bureaucracies, and found evidence of their existence in Imperial China, the Russian Empire, and the regimes of Europe.

Mill referred to bureaucracy as a distinct form of government, separate from representative democracy.

He believed bureaucracies had certain advantages, most importantly the accumulation of experience in those who actually conduct the affairs.

Criticism of Bureaucracy –

- Bureaucracy is a form of governance compared poorly to representative government, as it relied on appointment rather than direct election.
- The bureaucracy stifles the mind, and that "A bureaucracy always tends to become a **pedantocracy** (bookish theorists)."

Max Weber

1922 essay Bureaucracy published in his "Economy and Society".

Bureaucratic administration means fundamentally domination through knowledge.

Bureaucracy as an Ideal-typical forms of public administration, government, and business.

Bureaucratisation of society.

As the most efficient and rational way of organizing.

Bureaucratization - key part of the rational-legal authority

Weber does agree that bureaucracy constitutes the most efficient and (formally) rational way in which human activity can be organized, and that thus is indispensable to the modern world.

Weber listed several precondititions for the emergence of bureaucracy-

- The growth in space and population being administered
- The growth in complexity of the administrative tasks being carried out
- The existence of a monetary economy requiring a more efficient administrative system.
- Democratization and rationalization of culture resulted in demands that the new system treats everybody equally

Weber's ideal-typical bureaucracy is characterized by

- hierarchical organization
- delineated lines of authority in a fixed area of activity
- action taken on the basis of and recorded in written rules
- bureaucratic officials need expert training
- rules are implemented by neutral officials
- career advancement depends on technical qualifications judged by organization, not individuals

There is

- a rigid division of labor
- a chain of command is established, restricted by regulations
- there is a regular and continuous execution of the assigned tasks by qualified and trained people

He is not an admirer of bureaucracy.

Weber –

- a threat to individual freedoms
- the ongoing bureaucratization as leading to a "polar night of icy darkness", in which increasing rationalization of human life traps individuals in a soulless "iron cage" of bureaucratic, rule-based, rational control.

Woodrow Wilson

Essay "The Study of Administration"

Argued for a bureaucracy as

- A professional cadre
- Devoid of allegiance to fleeting politics of the day
- Raised very far above the dull level of mere technical detail
- Administrative questions are not political questions
- Politics sets the tasks for administration but it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices

Robert K. Merton

In "Social Theory and Social Structure"

Dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy-

- A "trained incapacity" resulting from "overconformity."
- Bureaucrats more likely to defend their own interests than to act to benefit the organization.

- Bureaucrats took pride in their craft, which led them to resist changes.
- Bureaucrats emphasized formality over interpersonal relationships
- Trained to ignore the special circumstances of particular cases, causing them to come across as "arrogant" and " haughty".

Ritzer- Mcdonaldisation i.e. increasing rationality leads to irrational outcomes. It is dehumanising.

Formal & Informal relations-Weber gave importance to formal relations within an organisation.

Peter Blau on the other hand, found that informal organization actually tend to increase the efficiency of workers instead of pulling it down. Informal networks bring life into the organisations.

Elton Mayo's study of human relations- Study of Hawthrone works of GE, Chicago
It came as a response to classical theory which laid emphasis on formal structure

Arguments against bureaucracy (use it under formal orgn/weber's study of bureaucracy)

- **Robert K merton:** Bureaucracy is **rule ritualism** which provides no space for creativity or own judgement. It leads to **displacement of goals** as **rules become end in itself.**
- **Alvin Gouldner:** Study inside **industrial mine**. How degree of bureaucratisation changes [gave three types- Mock (no smoking- but smoking allowed), representative centred (to solve differences), punishment centred (no absenteeism)]
- **Burns and Stalker:** argue that system should not be **mechanistic like bureaucracy but organic.**
- **Robert Michels:** In his political theory- **'iron law of oligarchy'** he says that flow of power towards the top is an inevitable part of increasingly bureaucratised world. Bureaucracy is sworn enemy of individual liberty.
- Peter Sleznik- in his book 'TVA and grass roots' argues organisations need to be flexible and restructure power in order to create more participatory and adaptive structure.
- Giddens: in defence of bureaucracy observes that as organisations expand in size, power relations become looser and there is increased decentralization in decision making. It is not possible to have a top down approach as size increases. Eg: Transnational organisations can be ethnocentric- where power resides in home country; polycentric- where it is shared or geocentric- where it's most flexible.

Ideology

An ideology is a set of cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes that underlie and justify either the status quo or movements to change it.

Ideology can also underlie movements for social change, which rely on sets of ideas that explain and justify their purpose and methods.

Marxist view

A society's dominant ideology is integral to its superstructure.

In the Marxist economic base and superstructure model of society, base denotes the relations of production and modes of production, and superstructure denotes the dominant ideology (religious, legal, political systems).

The economic base of production determines the political superstructure of a society.

Ruling class-interests determine the superstructure and the nature of the justifying ideology.

For example, in a feudal mode of production, religious ideology is the most prominent aspect of the superstructure, while in capitalist formations, ideologies such as liberalism and social democracy dominate.

Hence ideology politically confuses the alienated groups of society via false consciousness.

Marx argued that "The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production."[13]

György Lukács proposes ideology as a projection of the class consciousness of the ruling class.

Antonio Gramsci

Uses **cultural hegemony** to explain why the working-class have a false ideological conception of what are their best interests.

Gramsci wrote about the power of ideology to reproduce the social structure via institutions like religion and education.

Intellectuals, often viewed as detached observers of social life, enjoy prestige in society.

They function as the "deputies" of the ruling class, **indoctrinating the populace** to follow the norms and rules established by the ruling class.

Importantly, this includes the **belief that the economic system, the political system, and a class stratified society are legitimate**, and thus, the rule of the dominant class is legitimate.

Karl Mannheim, Daniel Bell, and Jürgen Habermas - The Marxist formulation of "ideology as an instrument of social reproduction" is conceptually important to the sociology of knowledge

Pierre Bourdieu - ideology a psychoanalytic insight that ideologies do not include only conscious, but also unconscious ideas.

Louis Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses

Both spiritual and materialistic conception of ideology

Made use of a special type of discourse: **the lacunar discourse**. A number of propositions, which are never untrue, suggest a number of other propositions, which are.

Example, the statement "All are equal before the law", which is a theoretical groundwork of current legal systems, suggests that all people may be of equal worth or have equal "opportunities". This is not true, for the concept of private property and power over the means of production results in some people being able to own more (much more) than others.
The rich can afford better legal representation, which practically privileges them before the law.

Ideological State Apparatus - to explain his theory of ideology.
For Althusser, beliefs and ideas are the products of social practices, not the reverse.

What is ultimately ideological for Althusser are not the subjective beliefs held in the conscious "minds" of human individuals, but rather discourses that produce these beliefs, the material institutions and rituals that individuals take part in without submitting it to conscious examination and critical thinking.

Silvio Vietta: Ideology and Rationality

Ddescribed the development and expansion of Western rationality from ancient times onwards as often accompanied by and shaped by ideologies like that of the "just war", the "true religion", racism, nationalism, or the vision of future history as a kind of heaven on earth in communism.

He said that ideas like these became ideologies by giving hegemonic political actions an idealistic veneer and equipping their leaders with a higher and, in the "political religions" (Eric Voegelin), nearly God-like power, so that they became masters over the lives (and the deaths) of millions of people.

He considered that ideologies therefore contributed to power politics irrational shields of ideas beneath which they could operate as manifestations of idealism.